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# **China Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 198**



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18 June 1981

CHINA REPORT  
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## CONTENTS

## PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Zhao Ziyang's Lahore Press Conference Reported (AFP, 4 Jun 81) .....	1
'Ba Yi Radio' on Zhao Ziyang's Visit to Pakistan (Ba Yi Radio, 5 Jun 81) .....	2
'Ba Yi Radio' Questions Deng's Stand on U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan (Ba Yi Radio, 23 May 81) .....	4
'RENMIN RIBAO' Looks at Bolivia Situation (Ji Mei; RENMIN RIBAO, 29 May 81) .....	6
Library of Congress on USSR Third World Policy (XINHUA, 29 May 81) .....	8
'XINHUA' Reviews Article by NATO Commander Rogers (XINHUA, 27 May 81) .....	10
<b>Briefs</b>	
Indian Art Critic Praises Paintings	11
Belgian King Meets Chinese Scientists	11
Cultural Delegation Leaves for DPRK	11
Protocol on Tianjin-Sarajevo Bonds	12
Huang Hua Reportedly Hospitalized	12
Delegation Attends Sudan Anniversary	12
Bangladesh Announces Zhao Ziyang Visit	12

## PARTY AND STATE

'Ba Yi Radio' Criticizes CCP Central Committee Leadership (Ba Yi Radio, 28 May 81) .....	13
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'SHANXI RIBAO' Cited on Status of Chen Yonggui (AFP, 8 Jun 81) .....	15
'Ba Yi Radio' Criticizes Personality Cult (Ba Yi Radio, 7 Jun 81) .....	17
Shanghai People Mourn Soong Ching Ling (XINHUA Domestic Service, 31 May 81) .....	19
Soong Ching Ling Relatives Issue Press Statement (XINHUA, 4 Jun 81) .....	22
<b>Briefs</b>	
Anhui Political Study Class	23
CPPCC Groups' Investigation Tours	23
<b>MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY</b>	
'Ba Yi Radio' on Problems of PLA Air Force (Ba Yi Radio, 16 May 81) .....	24
'Ba Yi Radio' Questions Handling of Fuzhou PLA Units' Incident (Ba Yi Radio, 16 May 81) .....	26
'Ba Yi Radio' on PLA Cadres' View of Lin Biao (Ba Yi Radio, 19 May 81) .....	28
'Ba Yi Radio' on Deng's Persecution of Nanjing, Guangzhou PLA (Ba Yi Radio, 15 May 81) .....	30
'Ba Yi Radio' on Problems in PLA's Political Work (Ba Yi Radio, 19 May 81) .....	32
'Ba Yi Radio' Scores Deng's Persecution of Ding Sheng (Ba Yi Radio, 31 May 81) .....	34
'Ba Yi Radio' Cautions Military Cadres Against Being Misused (Ba Yi Radio, 3 Jun 81) .....	36
<b>Briefs</b>	
Shanghai Air Force Units	38
<b>SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE</b>	
'Ba Yi Radio' on Suicides of Rusticated Shanghai Youths (Ba Yi Radio, 17 May 81) .....	39
'Ba Yi Radio' Raps Deng Xiaoping on Youth Problem (Ba Yi Radio, 25 May 81) .....	41
Zhou Yang Encourages Writers' Work (XINHUA, 25 May 81) .....	43

**Briefs**

Beijing University President's Appointment	45
Shanghai-Produced Film	45
Xinjiang Publication Work	45

**HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA**

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

Exodus of Chinese Boats From Guangdong to Hong Kong (Donald Cheung; SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST, 1 Apr 81) .....	46
'WEN WEI PO' on Trilateral Commission's Trip to Beijing (Editorial; WEN WEI PO, 29 May 81) .....	49

**PARTY AND STATE**

Hong Kong Journal on Wang Xizhe's Arrest (Liu Ying; CHENG MING, 1 Jun 81) .....	51
'WEN WEI PO': Leftist Wind Cause of 'Bitter Love' Criticism (Cheng Kuang-fei; WEN WEI PO, 2 Jun 81) .....	56

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ZHAO ZIYANG'S LAHORE PRESS CONFERENCE REPORTED

BK041353 Hong Kong APP in English 1308 GMT 4 Jun 81

[Text] Islamabad, 4 Jun (APP)--Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang today offered Pakistan the help of the Chinese people in case of any foreign aggression at its borders.

However, the two countries do not have an alliance treaty, Pakistani President Mohammad Ziaul Haq said, adding that solidarity among friendly nations could not be forced.

Speaking at the end of his 4-day official visit here, Mr Zhao encouraged Pakistan's efforts to modernize its army by buying large quantities of materiel from the United States, under terms similar to those the Soviet Union has granted to India.

He also expressed his approval in principle of Pakistan's efforts to reach a diplomatic solution to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, although he appeared to hold little hope for any success.

"In Kampuchea and Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is blazing a trail towards the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean to control world oil resources," he said. "A reasonable political solution in Afghanistan is above all linked to the unity and progress of the Afghan resistance."

Despite his expressed pessimism over what he called "the serious expansionist threat" posed by the Soviet Union, he offered only "political, moral and material aid," apparently not wanting to risk a direct Sino-Soviet conflict.

Mr Zhao and General Zia also likely spent part of their four series of talks examining Pakistan's relations with India, which still receives much of Pakistan's military attention.

Relations between Islamabad and New Delhi were still uncertain, and have become more tense since Pakistan decided to buy arms from the U.S.

One Pakistani officer in General Zia's entourage said during Mr Zhao's visit that India has 12 divisions along the Pakistani border.

But both General Zia and Mr Zhao were conciliatory in their public statements concerning India, with which Beijing also has been at odds in the past.

Meanwhile, General Zia has accepted a Chinese invitation to go to Beijing, for the third time since 1977. The date for that trip is to be set later.

CSO: 4020/202

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI RADIOS ON ZHAO ZIYANG'S VISIT TO PAKISTAN

OW060502 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 5 Jun 81

[Text] In accordance with Vice Chairman Deng's instructions, Premier Zhao Ziyang signed a new agreement with Pakistani leaders when he visited Pakistan. The agreement stipulated that China will provide Pakistan with 710 million yuan of military aid in the next 2 years. This event cannot but cause grave concern among the people and in the army.

Indeed, at a time when our country is encountering economic difficulties, to increase our expenditures and give military aid to another country is not a wise move. It should be particularly pointed out that China has already provided Pakistan with immense military aid amounting to 6 billion yuan since 1966. Since the outbreak of the Afghanistan incident, China has provided Pakistani troops and Afghan guerrillas with 630 million yuan worth of weapons, ammunition and other military supplies. In the next 2 years, this military aid will be increased by another 710 million yuan. In the past 2 years, the United States, as an ally of Pakistan, only provided Pakistani troops and Afghan guerrillas with 1 billion U.S. dollars of aid. However, how can we compare with a rich country like the United States as far as financial and material resources are concerned?

China is now faced with serious economic difficulties. The central authorities call on all the people in the country to bear hardships and accept hard work while also practicing strict economy. The central authorities have also vigorously curtailed military expenditures. Compared with 1979, China's military budget this year has been reduced by 7 billion yuan. How can we generously aid the troops of another country with the money we have tried so hard to save?

At the same time, the measures taken to practice strict economy in the army are becoming more and more absurd. Due to the insufficient appropriation of funds needed to replace the conventional weapons made in China at present, most of the PLA units are still using old and obsolete weapons and equipment. Even funds for the maintenance and repair of weapons and military equipment are not enough. According to reports made by various PLA units, the number of soldiers who have died or been injured from accidents has greatly increased.

In addition, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also instructed the whole army to practice strict economy and lower the standards in food and material supplies. He

demanded that those PLA units with favorable conditions should become either fully or partially self-sufficient in nonstaple food supply. That shows a total negligence of our army's combat strength and of the livelihood of our army officers and soldiers as well as military dependents. How can we curtail military expenditures and reduce the normal material supplies to the army on the one hand while spending billions of yuan for military aid to another country on the other?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Support for the Pakistani troops and the Afghan and Kampuchean guerrilla troops is our strategic target. However, we must point out: at a time when we are faced with economic difficulties and the people are living under dire circumstances, we should not willfully squander billions of yuan--money the people have earned through hard toil.

This is our only true strategic target. In short, to build the motherland and improve the living standard of the people in the country, the armymen and military dependents is actually our number one task.

CSO: 4005/639

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BA YI RADIO' QUESTIONS DENG'S STAND ON U.S. ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN

OW260804 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 23 May 81

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed at a recent meeting of the Military Commission that we should not be oversensitive to the United States' supplying weapons to Taiwan. However, we cannot but realize that the weapons in the hands of the Kuomintang are trained on our country and directly threaten the security of our country, especially the security of the PLA units stationed in the coastal areas.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said: Considering our long-term strategic interests, we should not go too far in opposing U.S. arms sales to the Kuomintang. We should set store by the development of Sino-U.S. relations and make concessions where we should.

But this argument is not convincing. Politically we sometimes may have to compromise or concede certain matters in order to achieve our strategic purposes. However, we must not make any concessions on matters of principle concerning our state sovereignty and national dignity. The current U.S. policy toward Taiwan and its supply of weapons for the Kuomintang are precisely a major matter of principle.

Although the United States has established ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations with our country, the U.S. Government openly asserts that Taiwan is a U.S. protectorate and that the American people have the right to concern themselves with the security of Taiwan and to safeguard the freedom of the Taiwan people, including the supply of various weapons and military technology and equipment for the Kuomintang.

These U.S. imperialist acts constitute open interference in our country's internal affairs, an infringement on our state sovereignty and an insult to our national dignity. Politically speaking, these acts are actually preventing Taiwan from returning to the embrace of the motherland.

In military strategy, we must consider this important matter: U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger recently put forward a new policy on U.S. aid to Taiwan. [words indistinct] The United States supplies Taiwan with \$1 billion worth of the latest highly effective weapons every year, including offensive weapons. (?The latest weapons such as intermediate-range FX fighters, antiaircraft

missiles, improved ship-based antiaircraft missiles, tow antitank missiles, the ship-based fire control system, 75-mm curved-fire guns and computer-controlled weapons) are undoubtedly far superior in performance to our army's weapons of the same kind.

Therefore, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's statement that U.S. arms sales to Taiwan will not endanger China is questionable in terms of military strategy.

CSO: 4005/639

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' LOOKS AT BOLIVIA SITUATION

HK310539 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 May 81 p 7

[Article by Ji Mei [1213 5019]: "Bolivia in Turmoil"]

[Text] General Garcia Meza, president of Bolivia, suddenly announced on 26 May that he would no longer concurrently function as commander of the army and would also hand over his presidential powers on Bolivia's independence day, 6 August. According to observers on the spot, Garcia's handing over of power is the result of struggles within the army, which are growing with each passing day.

Bolivia has always been a politically turbulent, coup-ridden country. Garcia Meza came to power by a military coup last July. This coup aborted the process of restoring democracy and constitutional government in the country, which had started in 1977. After the coup, the Garcia military government took severe action to control the situation, including instituting military control throughout the country, halting all trade union and political party activities, closing the universities, enforcing indefinite curfews and exiling political prisoners. These measures greatly weakened the resistance of political forces such as the political parties and trade unions, and brought about relative peace in the country for a time. In its early days, the military government gained the support of the armed forces and rightwing political groups such as the Socialist Falange. Not long afterwards, however, contradictions gradually became apparent between the military government and those cooperating with it, and the power struggle within the army started to break out afresh. A number of important military leaders, such as Mario Bargas Salinas, former commander of the seventh division at Cochabamba, and Ugo Echeveria, commander of the armored force at Santa Cruz, withdrew their support for Garcia.

There was distinct turmoil in the country in May this year, when three rebellions occurred in less than 1 month. On 2 May, Beylade, leader of the Socialist Falange, led a number of armed elements to occupy an oilfield and refinery south of Santa Cruz and demanded that the Garcia government resign immediately so as to set up a transitional government composed partly of armymen, partly of civilians. On 11 May, officers and men of the special forces training center at Cochabamba launched a revolt, demanding that Garcia and other members of the Supreme Military Command resign. Lansa, the leader of this unit, announced that his action was supported by two military academies at Cochabamba and by some other units stationed in other towns. Afterwards, the special forces training

center was surrounded by units loyal to the president, and Lansa surrendered to the seventh division stationed in Cochabamba. Lansa escaped from detention a few days later. Lansa launched a second revolt on 25 May, when he led troops to surround the seventh division headquarters and also occupied the city's radio station, again demanding the resignation of Garcia and the military government. Although these three rebellions have been put down, factors of instability still exist in the army, and rebellion may break out again.

The armed forces are a major factor in determining Bolivia's political situation. The instability of the Garcia government's position is closely linked to the power struggle between various factions in the armed forces. According to people on the spot, the main threat to Garcia comes from the former president, General Banzer, and General (Arveto Natus) who led an abortive coup last November in an attempt to overthrow the government. These two have a certain amount of strength and supporters in the armed forces. At the end of March, six Banzer elements in the military government's special legislative organ resigned in protest against the government's "slanders" against Banzer. In April Banzer suddenly announced that he was withdrawing the support of himself and his organization from the military government, and also severely criticized the government. After Lansa's first revolt, Banzer and Natus fled abroad, where they declared that the Garcia government would not last long. When Lansa launched his second revolt, he expressed hopes that one of the two would become president. Garcia Meza also announced that Lansa's revolt was linked to the support from Banzer, (Natus) and Castile, chief of staff of the armed forces joint command.

Another reason for the instability of the Garcia government is that it is incapable of dealing with the serious domestic economic problems and of extricating itself from international isolation. Military opponents represented by Lansa and others have denounced the government as incompetent, corrupt, involved in drug peddling, and incapable of managing the economy. According to statistics, total value of domestic production in Bolivia rose by only 0.8 percent in 1980, the lowest increase in the past 5 years. At the same time the inflation rate has reached 45 percent and there is a financial deficit of \$270 million. At the beginning of May the country's foreign debts exceeded \$3.71 billion. The Bolivian economy is now sinking into the worst state for 30 years. The economic retrenchment measures taken by the military government have aroused discontent among the people of all strata. The Garcia government has been recognized by only some 20 countries since it took power nearly 1 year ago. The United States has not yet recognized it, and has in addition repeatedly accused it of drug peddling and violations of human rights. According to the LATIN AMERICA WEEKLY, the U.S. army chief of staff discussed the Bolivia situation in a recent meeting with Argentine military figures, and demanded that Argentina no longer support the Garcia government, because the Reagan administration holds that an anti-Garcia coup is only a matter of time.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### LIBRARY OF CONGRESS ON USSR THIRD WORLD POLICY

OW291612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1556 GMT 29 May 81

[Text] Beijing, May 29 (XINHUA)--A report released by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of the U.S. Congress describes the Soviet policy toward the Third World as offensive and expansionist.

The report, entitled "Soviet Policy and United States Response in the Third World", was prepared for the U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In pursuit of global objectives, it says, Soviet military and economic aid, and political energies were invested only in those areas of the Third World that could serve the USSR's strategic and political interests. Most of these countries lie in a zone extending from the North African shores of the strategically important Mediterranean, through the Middle East and South Asia on to Southeast Asia. This zone is important to the USSR because of its strategic raw materials and human resources, commercial and communications lifelines, and its geographic position adjacent to the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc.

Politically, the report holds, the purposes of the Soviet policy are "to build and maintain the Soviet Union's position of a global power" and "to reduce and deny the United States, the West, and China influence and power in the Third World".

Economically, the Third World is a market for Soviet technological and industrial goods, and military weapons, supplies, and equipment and is a source of raw materials and consumer goods, it points out.

Strategically, it states, many of the key strategic areas of the world, particularly straits or "chokepoints" of the ocean traffic, lie within the Third World.

The primary instrument in the pursuit of Soviet global goals is the navy, which needs an infrastructure of overseas bases, port facilities, and refueling stations, the report says.

The report also touches on Soviet expansionism in the Third World.

The Soviet might has moved into the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean since 1964, and it also has established a "predominant influence"

in South Asia. With the help of the East Germans and Cubans, the Soviets have expanded their activities along the Bab al-Mandab Strait, the strategic passage between the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.

The report maintains that Cuba has played an instrumental role in recent Soviet policy in Africa. During 1979 and 1980, approximately 35,000 Cuban military personnel were stationed in Sub-Saharan-Africa. This has ensured the Soviet position in black Africa.

The report stresses that the December 1979 invasion of Afghanistan has been a "watershed" in Soviet foreign policy.

Any acquiescence in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan will make other invasions of Third World countries by the Soviet Union "a normal event," says the report, and this would be tantamount to extending the "writ of the Brezhnev doctrine."

CSO: 4020/201

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' REVIEWS ARTICLE BY NATO COMMANDER ROGERS

OW271649 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 27 May 81

[Text] Brussels, May 27 (XINHUA)--The steady accumulation of the Soviet military power, coupled with NATO's insufficient and oft-times faltering response, is "placing in jeopardy" NATO countries' credibility of deterrent, warns General Bernard W. Rogers, the supreme allied commander, Europe, in an article in June NATO REVIEW.

In the article, entitled "Charting the Way Ahead," Rogers also warns that if the required security imperatives are not accomplished, the social and political gains of the Western countries may be "short-lived."

Rogers says that the 1980's will be a period of new strategic challenges. "If we are to chart our way successfully through the years ahead, we must not only acknowledge the existence of a new strategic situation, but consider our vulnerabilities as well", he says.

As for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Rogers says that the "southward thrust of Soviet forces and influence can...lead to destabilisation of some regimes" and should be a warning to the West of the Soviet capabilities and possible intentions. The Afghanistan situation is an indication of the changed strategic environment which contains additional challenges outside the boundaries of NATO. According to Rogers, NATO countries must concert their responses to these challenges.

Assessing the growing overall menace to the Atlantic Alliance, he says that if NATO countries are to meet the challenges, "we must accelerate and reinforce our present efforts to prevent the growing imbalance in military capabilities from becoming so great as to become unmanageable and beyond restoration."

CSO: 4020/201

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

INDIAN ART CRITIC PRAISES PAINTINGS--New Delhi, May 19 (XINHUA)--The "UNESCO Travelling Exhibition of Chinese Paintings" "is the delicate fusion of the traditional and the contemporary that makes this exhibition a unique art experience", commented an Indian art critic in an article published in the INDIAN EXPRESS as the exhibition drew to a close here today. The exhibition which opened here on May 12 was organized by Lalit Kala Akademi and the Indian Ministry of Education and Culture. Indian art critics admired the "judicious admixture" of paintings in the traditional technique and the socialist contemporary works. Indian newspapers, while describing the art show as "a beautiful exhibition altogether", appreciated "Heart-to-Heart Talk", a painting by Liu Wen-xi depicting Chairman Mao talking with peasants in Yenan, as containing "socialist content and traditional elements that are excellently integrated". They also regarded this and some other paintings, such as "Galloping Horse" by Xu Bei-hong, "Shrimps" by Qi Bai-shi and "Plum Blossoms" by He Xiang-ning, as "more outstanding exhibits". The exhibition presented 60 works of art selected from the works by Chinese artists during the 37 years since 1942, the year in which Chairman Mao delivered a series of talks on art work at the Yenan forum on literature and art. [Text] [OW191415 Beijing XINHUA in English 1323 GMT 19 May 81]

BELGIAN KING MEETS CHINESE SCIENTISTS--Beijing, May 26 (XINHUA)--Belgian King Baudouin the First met with three Chinese physicists at the Diaoyutai state guest-house here this afternoon. Their discussions centered on expanding scientific and technical exchanges between the two countries. The Chinese scientists were Professor Li Xun, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Professor Zhang Wenyu, director of the Institute of Physics of High Energy, and Professor Peng Huanwu, director of the Institute of Theoretical Physics. Also present were Belgian nuclear physicist Yves Goldschmidt-Clermont and astronomer Paul Melchior, who are accompanying the king of the visit. King Baudouin the First and Queen Fabiola visited the Museum of Chinese History at separate times today. [Text] [OW261700 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 26 May 81]

CULTURAL DELEGATION LEAVES FOR DPRK--Beijing, May 28 (XINHUA)--A nine-member delegation of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles left here for Korea today in accordance with the Sino-Korean cultural exchange agreement. Lin Mohan, vice chairman of the federation, is head of the delegation. [Text] [OW281229 Beijing XINHUA in English 1215 GMT 28 May 81]

PROTOCOL ON TIANJIN-SARAJEVO BONDS--Tianjin, May 28 (XINHUA)--A protocol on the establishment of official bonds of friendship between Tianjin and Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, was signed here today. The protocol was signed by Hu Qili, secretary of the Tianjin City committee of the Chinese Communist Party and mayor of the city, and Alija Latic, chairman of the conference of the city League of Communists and member of the city assembly of Sarajevo, on behalf of the two cities. The occasion was marked by a rally attended by more than 1,000 people later today. Addressing the gathering, Hu Qili described the signing of the protocol as erecting a bridge of friendship between the two cities. "We are ready to join the people of Sarajevo in expanding exchanges and cooperation between our two cities in cultural, economic, trade, scientific, city management, construction and other fields," he said. Alija Latic said that both sides will find ways for economic cooperation in order to establish relations of friendship and cooperation ensuring mutual interests. [Text] [OW281636 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 28 May 81]

HUANG HUA REPORTEDLY HOSPITALIZED--Tokyo, June 3, KYODO--Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua, reportedly hospitalized for treatment of a kidney disease, Tuesday met Yugoslav Foreign Minister Josip Vrhovac, XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reported. It said the two exchanged visits on international issues of common interest and Huang accepted Vrhovac's invitation to visit Yugoslavia at his convenience. Huang had not appeared in public since May 19. He was scheduled to visit India at the end of this month. [Text] [OW030041 Tokyo KYODO in English 0029 GMT 3 Jun 81]

DELEGATION ATTENDS SUDAN ANNIVERSARY--Khartoum, May 25 (XINHUA)--Sudanese President Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, with Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat at his side, reviewed a grand military parade at the May Park here this morning to mark the 12th anniversary of the May 25 Revolution. Fikre-Selassie Wodgeress, secretary-general of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Ethiopia, attended the celebration in the company of 'Abdal-Majid Halil, Sudanese first vice-president, defence minister and commander-in-chief of the People's Armed Forces. Among the foreign guests watching the military parade were members of military delegations from China, the United States and Federal Germany. This year's celebrations are characterized by the slogan "Regular forces' role during regional government stage". The parade, lasting one and a half hours, fully shows the strength and determination of the Sudanese armed forces to defend their motherland. [Text] [OW251645 Beijing XINHUA in English 1635 GMT 25 May 81]

BANGLADESH ANNOUNCES ZHAO ZIYANG VISIT--Dacca, May 22 (XINHUA)--The forthcoming visit of Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang is expected to "further widen and deepen" the friendly relations between Bangladesh and China, said a Bangladesh press information department's announcement which was carried in local newspapers here today. Premier Zhao's visit at the invitation of President Ziaur Rahman will last four days from June 7 to 10, said the announcement. During his stay in Bangladesh, Zhao Ziyang will have official talks with President Ziaur Rahman on international and regional issues of mutual interest and bilateral matters. [Text] [OW221330 Beijing XINHUA in English 1320 GMT 22 May 81]

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BA YI RADIO' CRITICIZES CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE LEADERSHIP

OW291138 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin 1400 GMT 28 May 81

[Text] To insure a situation of stability and unity in leading organs, first of all, the relationships among leading persons must conform to the guiding principles for political life within the party. In particular, the number 1 and number 2 leaders must coordinate well and concert their efforts. However, with ulterior intentions, a certain man in the present party Central Committee is creating an unhealthy atmosphere of competition in a number of leading organs and even sowing discord and fostering contradictions.

It is exactly in this atmosphere that a certain man in the party Central Committee gradually slashes other leaders' authority, creates splits in various leading organs, methodically and systematically elbows out people holding different opinions and attacks unsubmitive cadres. At the same time, he plants his close followers in party, government and army leading organs at various levels to form strongholds and factions in order to build up his personal leadership system and his supreme authority. This is very serious in the central organs. It is under such circumstances that the relationship among a number of leaders has become very abnormal. It is for this reason that the situation of stability and unity has till today not been achieved in the Political Bureau, its Standing Committee, the Military Commission and other leading organs of the CCP Central Committee. It is an open secret that the relationship between the chairman and one vice chairman of the party Central Committee does not conform to the guiding principles for political life within the party and runs counter to the fine work style of our party and the basic principles of the party constitution.

Besides, the relationship between this vice chairman and other vice chairmen is not normal either. For instance, one vice chairman who is a senior leader of our party and army has stayed far away from the capital for a long time, absenting himself from all important meetings of the party Central Committee. This is also intolerable. Another vice chairman who was constantly under attack was forced to take responsibility for the principal mistakes of the four modernizations plan. Everybody knows that a certain man in the Central Committee has directly meddled with plans for the four modernizations. It is impossible for him to shirk responsibility and blame today. Still another vice chairman, although a universally acknowledged authority in our party on economic affairs, could not fully use his experience and knowledge, because the decision power was invested in somebody else while important economic problems were being tackled.

It must be emphatically pointed out here that in the recent period, through very inglorious methods, the authority of the Central Committee has been gradually shifted to the Secretariat to be shared by secretaries of the Secretariat, while the authority of the Political Bureau and other organs of the Central Committee has diminished. Noticing that the Political Bureau did not agree with him on many issues, a certain man in the Central Committee has deliberately handed many issues to the Secretariat to discuss and approve. Now, in order to enhance the prestige of the Secretariat, propaganda is being spread that the Secretariat is the model organ of collective leadership. Meeting twice a week, it becomes the alleged collective leadership. It is said that nobody can have all the say or authority. However, everybody clearly understands who has the final deciding power in the Secretariat. The Secretariat even frequently makes revisions according to the wishes of a certain man, resulting in annulment of the many resolutions already collectively passed by the plenary sessions of the party Central Committee. This is to say that the Secretariat, exceeding its own functions and meddling in other's affairs, can change the party Central Committee's resolutions anytime it wants to.

Such a situation in the party Central Committee's leading organ cannot but cause people's worry. If it goes on like this, the political situation of stability and unity cannot be achieved, and still greater splits will be created among the party, government and army leaderships.

CSO: 4005/640

PARTY AND STATE

'SHANXI RIBAO' CITED ON STATUS OF CHEN YONGGUI

OW081407 Paris AFP in English 1353 GMT 8 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, 8 June (AFP)--A two-year-old press campaign against Politburo member Chen Yonggui, the model peasant from Dazhai glorified by Mao Zedong appeared today to have abated, just days before the opening of a forthcoming Central Committee plenary session which will reevaluate Mao's historic contribution.

Mr Chen, who, along with his model agricultural brigade in Shanxi Province was held up by Mao as a model for the whole Chinese countryside, had been under attack for the last two years and last year lost his post of vice-premier.

However, the SHANXI RIBAO in its latest edition available here today noted that Chen Yonggui had "made a contribution to building up Dazhai particularly in 'the difficult first days'".

Dazhai, where all land was collectively owned and private plots did not exist, was boosted nation-wide during the 60s and 70s as an example of what could be achieved by selflessness and "hard struggle", but has now been discarded as a model.

However, the newspaper, referring to Mr Chen as the "former top leader of Xiyang County" of which Dazhai is a part, reiterated accusations that he had "led power-seizing activities" in Shanxi and wrongfully attacked large numbers of cadres during the Cultural Revolution.

The newspaper added that Mr Chen had "continued in his erroneous attitude and refused to mend his ways" after the Central Committee plenum of December 1978, which laid down the new policy directions of the post Maoist regime.

Observers noted that Mr Chen, although still a Politburo member, was one of the few leaders absent from last week's funeral service for honorary state president Soong Ching Ling.

Mr Chen is believed to be close to Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng who is to step down as head of the party in favour of party Secretary General Hu Yaobang during the forthcoming plenum.

The plenum is also to formally adopt a document evaluating the deeds and heritage of the late Chairman Mao Zedong.

Observers said that a compromise appears to have been reached on the issue within the Chinese leadership and that one of its fruits will probably be the temporary shelving of the demaoftation process.

CGO: 4020/203

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' CRITICIZES PERSONALITY CULT

OW080549 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 7 Jun 81

[Text] In the history of China and our party, there have been many leaders who were not described as "brilliant" or "great." Nor did they try to establish a personality cult. However, their glorious images are forever in the minds of hundreds of millions of people. On the other hand, there are some persons who like the limelight. They like to show people that they occupy decisive positions in the country and within the party. Whenever they act or speak, they like to show off their leading positions. They even regard themselves as saviors of the people. Nevertheless, the people have already realized from their own experiences that such persons are neither so "great" nor "brilliant." The person who regards himself as the "leader of the party," the "leadership of the Military Commission" and the "head of the government" is a striking example.

As soon as he took office, he boasted and lied, clamoring that we would achieve this in 3 years and that in 10 years and that we would achieve magnificent goals before the turn of the century. However, all these plausible words shattered like soap bubbles as the number of unemployed reached 26 million and runaway inflation and living standards for party, government and army cadres and workers declined greatly. He has refused to shoulder the major responsibility for committing such grave mistakes. In the meantime he tried to cover up his errors and look for a scapegoat so as to protect his "great" image.

Naturally, that person of the central authorities has survived several turbulent political reversals. He knows that by using such tactics alone, he will not be able to hoodwink all the people in the country. Therefore, he has also adopted a coercive measure by launching a so-called political movement to "eliminate leftists and combat rightists." Owing to the fact that the leaders of our army have never blindly worshipped anyone and that in the past few years army cadres have put forward many criticisms and cast doubts on China's domestic and foreign policies, the high and medium-level cadres in the army have become the focal points of this movement. Under the pretext of curtailing military expenditures, he has ordered a reduction in the number of army cadres and forced many medium and lower-ranking army cadres to retire or transfer to civilian work in coordination with the campaign to "purify the army." It has also been noted that at the time coercive measures are being used, the evil trend of promoting a personality cult once again prevails. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee decided: All the people in the party should be addressed as comrades, not

by the job title. Any view expressed by a leader of the central authorities should not be called "instruction." However, in many reports, documents and speeches, "vice chairman so-and-so's important instructions" are often quoted. Even his remarks and casual conversations are regarded as "instructions." His quotations are even posted in government organs and schools. Naturally, this is because the Secretariat and the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee are trying to figure out that person's ideas and seek to express their loyalty and obedience.

In short, actual deeds are needed to prove that one is great and brilliant. Any coercive measures or propaganda promoting a personality cult will only bring about negative results.

CSO: 4005/640

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI PEOPLE MOURN SOONG CHING LING

0W011121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1218 GMT 31 May 81

[Newsletter by an unidentified XINHUA reporter: "Your Name Was Already Connected With the Cause of the Party--the People of Shanghai Touchingly Mourn Honorary Chairman Soong Ching Ling"]

[Text] Shanghai, 31 May (XINHUA)--About 9 o'clock on the evening of 29 May, the sad news of the demise of honorary chairman Soong Ching Ling was carried on TV screens and in radio broadcasts. The people of Shanghai who had forged a profound friendship with her in the course of the protracted revolutionary struggle were at once thrown into deep grief.

Shanghai was where honorary chairman Soong Ching Ling was born. She spent several important stages of her life here. For more than half a century, she and the people of Shanghai maintained close ties and fought shoulder to shoulder. She was cherished and respected by the people of Shanghai. In the minds of the people of Shanghai, Soong Ching Ling's name was already connected with the cause of the party.

When Zhang Zhengzhong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress, was the party's underground responsible person in Shanghai prior to liberation, he made arrangements for the underground party members to contact Comrade Soong Ching Ling and help the China Welfare Institute supply the liberated areas with medicine, medical equipment and other supplies. With a heavy heart, Zhang Zhengzhong recalled this unforgettable course of events. He said: "Comrade Soong Ching Ling and the China Welfare Institute she founded made indelible contributions to the cause of people's liberation led by our party."

Zhang Zhengzhong said: "Comrade Soong Ching Ling's faithfulness to the revolution was consistent. During the dark period following the failure of the great revolution, she regarded the struggle to protect the people's rights and rescue those who were arrested as her own principal task. When Lu Xun died, I saw her at the forefront of the funeral procession. During the struggle to support the strike staged by workers of the Shanghai No 17 Cotton Mill, I heard her impassioned speech. She and our party were already bound by a common cause."

"Despite her advanced age and her busy schedule after liberation, Comrade Soong Ching Ling still visited basic-level units to concern herself with the masses. I accompanied her to inspect and conduct investigation at the Shanghai No 17 Cotton Mill. She was amicable and easy to approach. She always cordially talked with the workers and won the respect of the worker masses," he said.

Recalling the revolutionary friendship between Comrade Soong Ching Ling and his father Yang Xingfo and her deep concern for him, Yang Xiaofu, a researcher of the Economic Research Institute of the Shanghai Institute of Social Sciences, was unable to hold back his tears.

On the morning of 18 June 1933, Yang Xingfo, who was executive member and secretary general of the League for the Protection of Civil Rights in China at that time, went out in a car and was assassinated by spec agents. The 16-year-old Yang Xiaofu, who was also in the car, was wounded by a bullet. Comrade Soong Ching Ling, chairman of the League for the Protection of Civil Rights in China, was stricken with grief when she heard the news. She immediately issued a statement, scathingly condemning the fascist atrocity of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Risking the danger of being assassinated herself, she attended Mr Yang Xingfo's funeral service, fully demonstrating her heroic spirit of upholding justice. She showed great concern for Yang Xiaofu and his mother, gave them financial aid and took care of Yang Xiaofu's study and upbringing. Yang Xiaofu said: "We will forever remember Comrade Soong Ching Ling's love for and assistance to our family. In March last year, Comrade Soong Ching Ling visited our place and showed concern for my living conditions. She told me many times: Your father worked selflessly for the cause of the revolution."

From 1936 to 1938 Li Yun, deputy secretary general of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC Committee, was entrusted by the party to serve as liaison with Comrade Soong Ching Ling. After liberation, he served a long time as secretary general of the China Welfare Institute. He personally witnessed Comrade Soong Ching Ling's lofty revolutionary spirit and her devotion to and confidence in the Communist Party of China. Now Li Yun still remembers many of the past events.

Li Yun said: After the "Xian incident," Comrade Soong Ching Ling felt indignant when she received a threatening letter with a bullet inside sent by Kuomintang special agent Lanyishe. She remained calm however and turned the letter over to the party organization through me, demanding that it be exposed. With the outbreak of the "13 August" war against Japanese aggression in Shanghai in 1937, the party Central Committee felt concern for Comrade Soong Ching Ling's safety. It sent a cable asking her to leave Shanghai immediately for Hong Kong. When she received the cable, which I relayed, Comrade Soong Ching Ling said that she would respect the views of Chairman Mao and Vice Chairman Zhou Enlai and go to Hong Kong with me. At that time, two events occurred that impressed me deeply.

1. One day in 1937, as we were discussing our work, Comrade Soong Ching Ling suddenly asked me in a low voice: "Am I considered a party member?" I replied, in accordance with the instruction issued by the party organization: "You are just as good as a Communist Party member." She nodded smilingly.

2. Comrade Soong Ching Ling met me at her home some 11 years later, in the winter of 1949. She hugged me tightly, and could not help dancing around a few times in the living room. Feeling jubilant in her heart, Comrade Soong Ching Ling said to me again and again: "We have won victory! We have won victory!"

On hearing about the passing away of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, some staff members and workers of the China Welfare Institute founded and led by honorary chairman Soong Ching Ling and workers of the Children's Art Theater, the Youth Palace, the printing house of the magazine ERA OF CHILDREN, the International Child Care Center and kindergartens and nurseries under the administration of the China Welfare Institute could not hold back their tears. They rushed to the Welfare Institute and together recalled Comrade Soong Ching Ling's outstanding lifetime contributions to developing children's culture and education and to caring for children and their health. Recalling Grannie Soong's teachings, Liu Angu, a performer of the Children's Art Theater, said tearfully: "Grannie Soong and we have parted forever, but her love for the younger generation will last forever. We must love the future of our motherland as she loved the younger generation. That will be the best way to express our grief over the demise of Grannie Soong!"

CSO: 4005/640

PARTY AND STATE

SOONG CHING LING RELATIVES ISSUE PRESS STATEMENT

OW041218 Beijing XINHUA in English 1209 GMT 4 Jun 81

[Text] Beijing, June 4 (XINHUA)--Pearl S. Lin, and ten other relatives of Soong Ching Ling, late honorary president of the People's Republic of China, issued a press statement here this afternoon.

In the statement, they extended their heartfelt gratitude to the people and government of the People's Republic of China for the many thoughtful and meticulous ways in which they cared for Soong Ching Ling and honoured her, and to all the peoples and governments of the world for their moving tributes and condolences.

The statement said: "In token of our own love for her and the love of all of her friends, we as members of her family wish to announce that it is our intention to establish, initially in North America, a Soong Ching Ling foundation which will serve the cause of enriching educational and cultural opportunities for youth and children--a cause that was closest to her heart.

"The foundation will seek to further this cause in the spirit of international cooperation."

The statement was signed by Pearl S. Lin, Andrew D. Lin, Rose S. Tchang, Paul K. Tchang, Victoria Tai, Ni Bing, Paul T. K. Lin, Eileen C. Lin, Walter C. K. Chun, Sau Chun W. Chun, Yen Chun.

CSO: 4020/203

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

ANHUI POLITICAL STUDY CLASS--A 20-day study class for instructors in political theory to study "Selected Articles by Chen Yun" ended on 28 May at the party school of Luan Prefecture in Anhui. Attending were 190 theoretical cadres from the propaganda departments of various prefectures, municipalities and counties. Class was sponsored by the propaganda department of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee. The class was designed to give the cadres a more profound understanding of Chen Yun's economic thinking. Gu Zhouxin, second secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee, gave a lecture on Chen Yun's economic thinking at the class on 28 May. [OW020241 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 May 81]

CPPCC GROUPS' INVESTIGATION TOURS--Beijing, 31 May (XINHUA)--The ad hoc investigation groups and visiting investigation groups organized by the CPPCC National Committee have departed, one after another, for Hebei, Shandong, Sichuan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Henan, Shaanxi, Shanxi and Hubei. Participating in these investigation tours were members, standing committee members and vice chairmen of the CPPCC National Committee. According to informed sources, these investigation tours were organized to give CPPCC members in Beijing an opportunity to understand China's current political and economic situation and to grasp the progress made in the economic readjustment so they may be able to display greater initiative in serving the four modernizations. Before their departure, the investigation groups studied relevant party and government policies and were briefed by departments concerned. They were also asked by the CPPCC National Committee to display the fine traditions and work style of hard work and plain living, practice strict economy, refrain from seeking privileges and bring as small an entourage as possible during their tours. [Text] [OW010114 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1245 GMT 31 May 81]

CSO: 4005/640

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' ON PROBLEMS OF PLA AIR FORCE

OW181309 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] What Comrade Zhang Tingfa said at a meeting of the Military Commission of the party Central Committee was very true. People cannot but feel worried about the present state of the air force. Of the three PLA services, the air force has been most seriously hurt by the erroneous military line of the past 20-odd years.

As everyone knows, the "gang of four" slandered the air force as the headquarters of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary conspiratorial clique and arrested Air Force Commander Wu Faxian and other air force leaders. No one knows how many air force cadres were subjected to investigations, imprisoned and dismissed because of involvement in the Lin Biao case.

After the downfall of the "gang of four"--because of involvement with the "gang of four"--Air Force Commander Ma Ning was replaced, and a massive new purge was launched against air force cadres at all levels. The victims were mostly former high-ranking air force officers such as (Liang Pu), chief of staff, headquarters, air force; (Wang Hui) and (Hu Ping), deputy chiefs of staff, headquarters, air force; (Gu Ming), chief of operations division, headquarters, air force; and leading cadres of air force units under the various military regions.

As a result of many years of ruthless attacks and persecution of leading cadres at various levels of the air force, the present state of the air force is very abnormal. Air Force Commander Zhang Tingfa recently pointed out with special emphasis at a meeting of the Military Commission:

1. In recent years the air force has lost many long-tested, outstanding cadres who are professionally competent and enjoyed high prestige. It is impossible for the air force to train new cadres with crash courses.
2. Air force morale is low. Many military and political cadres lack enthusiasm for work. They act perfunctorily in following orders from superiors. Discipline is lax.
3. The fighting capacity and quality of training of the air force are on the decline. Accidents are now commonplace even in some units which were formerly models, such as the 1st Air Force Division, the 15th Division, the 16th Division, the 15th Airborne Division, the 24th Division, the 1 August Parachutist Team and

so forth. Machinery and equipment are poorly maintained. Insufficient attention is paid to the training of commanders and fighters.

Commander Zhang Tingfa's opinions should be taken seriously by certain leaders of the Military Commission. Under modern warfare conditions, a country's defense capacity to a rather large extent depends on the fighting capacity of its air force. Also, the fighting capacity of the air force depends on the experience and quality of its cadres at all levels.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' QUESTIONS HANDLING OF FUZHOU PLA UNITS' INCIDENT

OW181145 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 May 81

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently forbade the units concerned to organize a reexamination of the Fuzhou PLA units' case, arguing that the case was closed long ago. And he instructed the Discipline Inspection Commission of the CCP Central Committee Military Commission to conduct ideological education for a number of cadres in Fuzhou PLA units, Fujian Military District and Lanzhou PLA units, who in the past few years had repeatedly put pressure on the party Central Committee in regard to this matter, and, in more serious cases, take disciplinary actions against them. This way of doing things is extremely wrong.

Anyone who has read the four reports the (?partywide) investigation group of the party Central Committee made (?previously) must have serious doubts and find them full of contradictions. Within a day after the death of Zhu De, Commander Pi Dingjun was killed in an accident under mysterious circumstances. Shouldn't a thorough investigation be made? It is exactly because Comrade Pi Dingjun was Zhu De's son-in-law that the coincidence is suspicious. Why was it that a week before Chairman Zhu De died, some persons in the party Central Committee had spread the saying that the Fuzhou PLA units comprised Zhu's generals and Peng's soldiers? Why was it necessary to wait 7 days before Comrade Pi Dingjun's death was made public?

Another doubt that the above-mentioned reports fail to give a clear answer is that Comrade (Wang Zaokang), deputy commander, and Comrade (He Jiafang), chief of staff, of Fuzhou PLA units, who took the lead in demanding an investigation into Commander Pi Dingjun's death, were killed successively in accidents within a period of 3 months. If we link all this with the accident that occurred 2 months before Comrade Pi Dingjun's death, the explosion of a motorboat with the commander and deputy chief of staff of a certain coastal defense division on board, it becomes obvious that accidents that happened to leaders of Fuzhou PLA units were not as simple as concluded in the above-mentioned reports. And it is incomprehensible that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has (?kept the lid on) and forbidden reexamination of the Fuzhou PLA units' case.

The 3d and 5th plenary sessions of the 11th party Central Committee called for fostering the spirit of thoroughgoing materialism and decided on reviving the party style of seeking truth from facts. Obstructing and even forbidding investigation of the Fuzhou PLA units' case and taking high-handed measures against

those who demand a thorough investigation to find out the truth--this is running counter to the guidelines of the plenary sessions.

Our party should not have anything that must be concealed from the whole army and the people of the whole country and should not accommodate the special interests of party and state leaders. Our party has tried the "gang of four" and solved many problems caused in the 10 calamitous years. However, it has evaded in every possible way and refused to solve many other major issues left over from history, such as the false charges against Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, the cases in which tens of thousands of PLA cadres were framed, falsely charged or wrongly sentenced in connection with the Lin Biao case and the "three support's and two military's" issue, the Fushou PLA units' case mentioned above, and so forth.

Unless these major questions left over from history are solved, the credibility crisis, especially the credibility crisis with regard to party and state leaders, can never be solved.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' ON PLA CADRES' VIEW OF LIN BIAO

OW201932 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin 1400 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] When Vice Chairman Ye was in Shanghai, some veteran cadres from the Nanjing PLA units handed him a letter airing their views on the Lin Biao incident. The letter pointed out: With ulterior motives, some people in the central authorities are still slandering the cadres of the Nanjing PLA units, alleging that "the pernicious influence of Lin Biao is especially serious and there are more remnants of Lin Biao hidden among the Nanjing PLA units." They even allege that "those participants in the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary conspiracy have not been thoroughly ferretted out." Obviously, they want to use the false case of Lin Biao, which was fabricated by the "gang of four," to continue to persecute the masses of army officers and soldiers.

The view aired by the veteran cadres of the Nanjing PLA units basically reflects the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the cadres of our army. Although some people in the central authorities have tried by hook or by crook to obstruct the settlement of historical problems involving the Lin Biao incident, the host of facts, documents, material evidence and witnesses in existence irrefutably prove that the Lin Biao incident was single-handedly fabricated by the "gang of four" and that it was a big conspiracy to frame Lin Biao and other leaders of our army--a big conspiracy of the "gang of four" to oppose the army.

Historical facts show that after the "gang of four" suppressed a large number of party and government cadres and began to control the party, government and army, the PLA and its leading cadres became the sole obstacle to the "gang of four's" conspiracy to usurp the power of the whole country. Activities by Marshals Ye Jianying and He Long, Huang Yongsheng of the Guangzhou Military District, Xu Shiyu of the Nanjing Military District, Song Renqiong of the Shenyang Military District, Li Jinquan of the Chengdu PLA units, Chen Zaidao of the Wuhan PLA units, Wang Enmao of the Xinjiang Military District, Yang Chengwu, Fu Chongbi and Yu Lijin and other high-ranking generals of our army at that time are the ironclad proof. Sometimes on the instruction of Lin Biao and sometimes on their initiative, these generals ordered PLA units to deal relentless blows at the "gang of four" and their lackeys by stopping atrocities by the so-called rebels--beating, smashing, looting, ransacking houses, killing and arresting people--thereby safeguarding the interests of the state and people. Although later on Chairman Mao dismissed and punished some of the above-mentioned comrades, Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng and other army leaders continued to resist the "gang of four's" feudal,

fascist dictatorship and time and again waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four."

It should be pointed out in particular that at the Lushan conference called by the party Central Committee between August and September of 1970, Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and other army leaders again exposed and repudiated the crimes of the "gang of four" in bringing calamities to the country and people.

After the Lushan conference, the "gang of four" escalated their counterrevolutionary conspiratorial activities, first of all, against Lin Biao and other army leaders. They slandered Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng and other people in front of Chairman Mao and cooked up the so-called Lin Biao counterrevolutionary conspiracy. On the night of 13 September 1971, they secretly instructed their accomplices to assassinate Lin Biao, Ye Qun, Lin Liguo and their staff members. To create a mystery over the event afterward, the "gang of four" twisted the truth by concocting the farce about Lin Biao trying to flee to a foreign country.

This is the well-known truth about the Lin Biao incident. However, why is the false case on Lin Biao, which was fabricated by the "gang of four," still used in the continuing persecution of army cadres today 10 years after the incident? The reason is simple. It is because that person in the central authorities has not been able to monopolize military power, although he has party and state power in his hands. It is especially difficult for him to control the leaders of all military districts and arms and services. The Lin Biao incident is a cudgel to suppress army cadres.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' ON DENG'S PERSECUTION OF NANJING, GUANGZHOU PLA

OW170522 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 15 May 81

[Text] The accusation made at a conference of the Military Commission that the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units were the old lair of Lin Biao's remaining followers was a kind of irresponsible accusation, and Vice Chairman Deng's instruction on regarding these two military regions as important areas where the remaining pernicious influence of Lin Biao should be thoroughly eliminated, was actually a call for carrying out a major purge against cadres of the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units. In fact, in the past 10 years, cadres at all levels in these two military regions have undergone all kinds of attacks and persecutions.

After the "13 September" incident [words indistinct], the "gang of four" ingeniously concocted the "Lin Biao case" and accused many cadres of the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units of having so-called "criminal collusions" with Lin Huang and others. After the "13 September" incident [words indistinct], they also claimed that many cadres of the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units had joined the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique, alleging that they were "hidden criminals." Included among these cadres were former Commander Ding Sheng, former First Political Commissar (Liu Xingyuan) and others [words indistinct]. Suffering the most damages were the air force units under the Nanjing Military Region, which were slanderously accused of being the "supreme headquarters" where Lin Biao launched his counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and open assassination against Chairman Mao.

Up to the present day, the number of cadres of the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units, who were persecuted because of the "Lin Biao case" concocted by the "gang of four," has amounted to tens of thousands. Moreover, Vice Chairman Deng (?openly) instructed that thorough elimination of the remaining pernicious influence of Lin Biao be carried out in these two military regions. It was precisely in compliance with the above-mentioned instruction that Comrade Wei Guoqing made a 10-day inspection of the political work performed by the Nanjing PLA units. Afterwards, Comrade Wei Guoqing (?reported) to the Military Commission, obstinately saying that serious ideological problems existed among the leading cadres of the Nanjing PLA units and that it was necessary to carry out organizational measures against some of these people. He obstinately alleged that, in order to clean up the leftist influence among cadres, it was first of all necessary to grasp tightly the work of eliminating Lin Biao's remaining followers hidden in the Nanjing PLA units.

The above facts have proved that, in disregard of the resolutions of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, some people are continuing to carry out political movements in the army under a disguised form and are using the pretexts of cleaning up the leftist influence and eliminating the remaining pernicious influence of Lin Biao to arbitrarily eliminate large numbers of army cadres. We should not fail to see that Vice Chairman Deng was totally devoid of gratitude in taking all kinds of measures against the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units. At the time, not long ago, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was undergoing persecutions by the "gang of four," it was precisely the leaders of the PLA units who braved tremendous risks in giving protection to Comrade Deng Xiaoping. The restoration of all posts for Deng Xiaoping inside and outside the party and his taking the charge of the work of the central authorities and the Military Commission were inseparable from the support of the leaders and cadres of the PLA units. Furthermore, the leaders of the Nanjing and Guangzhou PLA units made definite contributions to the smashing of the "gang of four." [passage indistinct] (?Such people) could only share their woe with others, but not their weal.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' ON PROBLEMS IN PLA'S POLITICAL WORK

OW201830 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 19 May 81

[Text] Political work in the army has not been satisfactory. The broad masses of commanders and fighters lack enthusiasm for political study. Serious problems exist in the ideological education for medium- and high-ranking cadres. This situation is especially obvious in the Wuhan PLA units. A recently held political work conference by the Wuhan PLA units adopted several new measures for enlivening political study in the units and organizing ideological education for cadres at and above regimental levels. However, these measures fail to take into consideration reality in the units in close coordination with the present ideas and feelings of the commanders and fighters. The speech by Commander Zhang Caiqian in fact repeated instructions given by that person in the central authorities. The tasks, which he put forward, concerning studying the documents and implementing the guidelines of the working conference of the party Central Committee were also redundant and therefore did not elicit any response from the commanders and fighters.

There is no doubt that the armymen are concerned about the future of the country and the people's hardships and that they feel helpless about the present economic difficulties. However, political study based on outmoded formulas and doctrines cannot answer the pressing questions of the commanders and fighters. Some comrades just (?disagree) with Comrade Zhang Caiqian's remark about the deep-rooted influence of the leftist line, which in fact was a refurbished version of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's view asserting that "quite a few armymen have a thousand and one links with the Lin Biao clique and fail to thoroughly understand the danger of Lin Biao's pernicious influence."

Judging from the material submitted by the Wuhan PLA units' political department to (?Beijing), many veteran comrades are very dissatisfied with the habitual way of saying the "deep-rooted leftist influence on the Wuhan PLA units." This is understandable because (word indistinct) the Wuhan PLA units dealt resolute blows at Jiang Qing's ultraleft line many years ago.

As early as July 1967, Wuhan PLA units Commander Chen Zaidao took a grave risk (?of ordering) the units to strike forcibly at the Red Guards and rebels in Wuhan and other areas and to suppress the savage acts of the so-called leftists. All of this is still fresh in people's memory. To deal with the situation, the highest authorities sent Xia Fuzhi and Wang Li to Wuhan to handle the problem. However, concerned comrades of the Wuhan PLA units held firmly to the truth by

detaining these two special envoys from Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng and expelling them from Wuhan after a couple of days. Although later on Chairman Mao personally ordered severe punishment for Comrade Chen Zaidao and other leading cadres of the Wuhan PLA units, the glorious action of the Wuhan PLA units' commanders and fighters in striking at the Red Guards and rebels and resisting the ultraleft line shall be recorded forever in the annals of our army.

Therefore, whoever accuses the Wuhan PLA units' commanders and fighters of having deep-rooted leftist influence lacks justification.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' SCORES DENG'S PERSECUTION OF DING SHENG

OW011135 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin 1400 GMT 31 May 81

[Text] Testimonial statements written by many old colleagues of Ding Sheng, former commander of the Nanjing PLA units, at the instruction of the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Military Commission under the CCP Central Committee and other concrete findings have provided convincing evidence that the charge of colluding with the "gang of four" hurled at Ding Sheng is groundless. But a certain individual at the central level does not allow the inclusion of these statements and findings in Ding Sheng's files. The purpose is to sustain the charge that Ding Sheng was a culprit of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques. A great deal of conclusive evidence shows that Ding Sheng was not guilty of the grave criminal charges hurled at him.

Comrades of the older generation in our army would recall that Comrade Ding Sheng joined the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army at the age of 18, took part in the Long March and fought bravely in various battles during the protracted and arduous war years. He was an outstanding commander faithful to the revolutionary cause.

Since liberation, Ding Sheng has consistently and unwaveringly implemented the correct party line and wholeheartedly served the people. He has contributed his energy, experience and knowledge to the army building.

As we all know, in order to seize the military power and control the army, the Jiang Qing clique had long persecuted army cadres whom it did not like. It regarded him as a thorn in their flesh and would be content with nothing less than his destruction. As early as when he served as deputy commander of the Xinjiang Military District, Jiang Qing's running dogs had declared that Ding Sheng was He Long's henchman and had instigated the masses to open fire at Ding Sheng. After he was transferred to serve as commander of the Guangdong Military District, the "gang of four" continued to plot against him, charging that he was against the Great Cultural Revolution and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

After he was appointed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping as commander of the Nanjing Military Region in early 1974, his position became more difficult. Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who served as general chief of staff, yielded under the "gang of four's" usurped power and repeatedly instructed Commander Ding Sheng to support the so-called revolutionary leftists in Shanghai and other places. But Comrade

Ding Sheng deliberately procrastinated in following his instruction and never carried it out. It is obvious that Commander Ding Sheng was entirely right in doing so. On the other hand, the instruction issued by then General Chief of Staff Deng Xiaoping to curry favor with the "gang of four" had encouraged the gang to launch counterrevolutionary activities to seize power after Chairman Mao's death.

Yet, now every possible means has been used to conceal from the whole party, army and people the fact that Comrade Deng Xiaoping colluded with the "gang of four" in many respects after returning to power in 1973, especially the very fact that Deng Xiaoping, in his capacity as general chief of staff, yielded under the "gang of four's" usurped power and personally instructed commanders of the Nanjing and other military regions to support the so-called revolutionary leftists. At the same time, false charges have been hurled at Comrade Ding Sheng and other leading army cadres accusing them of closely following the "gang of four" and serving as culprits of the Lin-Jiang counterrevolutionary cliques. [words indistinct]

The tragic fate of Comrade Ding Sheng serves as a bitter lesson for the whole army.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'BA YI RADIO' CAUTIONS MILITARY CADRES AGAINST BEING MISUSED

0W040435 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 3 Jun 81

[Text] In accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instructions, the army papers have launched a barrage of propaganda against literary works, films and dramas which criticise the policies of the central authorities. However, such propaganda has not promoted stability and unity, has not enhanced confidence in the central authorities and has not raised the central leaders' prestige, but has created even more ideological confusion. The door has opened even more widely to repressing democracy, stifling freedom of literary creations, encouraging the practice of fixed opinion, bureaucracy and ultraleftist ideas. Consequently, our army is misunderstood by many people.

The current antirightist propaganda does not lay stress against the longstanding right deviations that exist in external relations, foreign trade and the national economy. Like the early period of the antirightist movement in the 1950's, criticism is directed against those intellectuals who dare to break away from dogma and convention and venture to write independently. Criticism is also directed against those who hold opinions differing from the current line, policies and practices. Recent events show that some people even harbor the ulterior motive of using antirightist propaganda to purge ultraleftism. Some comrades, even members of the CCP Central Committee, Political Bureau members and Political Bureau Standing Committee members, try to whitewash things which have been criticized and exposed in the past and are disdained by the broad masses of cadres and the people. They attempt to restore modern myths and similar things of the past and to exercise dictatorship and autocratic rule.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee laid emphasis on opposing the left and eliminating ultraleftist influence. Some people now attach equal importance to opposing both left and right by saying that right deviations have emerged in the course of rectifying left mistakes.

In a speech delivered to the army, Comrade Wei Guoqing even openly declared that prime importance must be attached to opposing the right. If "left" deviation means solving problems by directing criticism and self-criticism against the higher and middle cadres, then the so-called "right" deviation will mean attacking the middle and lower-level cadres, especially the intellectuals, with heavy shellfire. Apparently, this runs counter to the guidelines of the resolutions adopted at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and

naturally reminds the cadres of the situation prior to and following the eighth party congress. That is, unbridled ultraleftist adventurism would follow the antirightist campaign. That is why many cadres, not knowing what course to take, have assumed a passive and wait-and-see attitude in work. Under the impact of this complicated political background, military cadres at all levels must remain cool-headed and heighten their vigilance to guard against being used as cat's paws by others to achieve their sinister goals.

CSO: 4005/641

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

SHANGHAI AIR FORCE UNITS--Shanghai, 15 May (XINHUA)--Commander Han Decai (7281 1795 1752), Deputy Commander Liu Zhun (0491 0402) and Political Commissar Song Chaoshi (1345 2600 6108) of the PLA air force units stationed in Shanghai have taken part in the movement to "do good deeds for the people of Shanghai as good sons and brothers of the people" launched by the Shanghai air force units in 1980. Mechanics, technicians, cadres and fighters of the aviation, radar, antiaircraft, motor vehicle and ground-to-air missile forces and meteorological observatories and stations under the Shanghai air force units have been offering repair, transport, weather forecasting and other services to the people in both urban and suburban areas. In the past year and more, the Shanghai air force units have contributed more than 130,000 workdays and planted 163,000 trees in this movement. (0W160239 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0233 GMT 15 May 81)

CSO: 4005/641

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI RADIO' ON SUICIDES OF RUSTICATED SHANGHAI YOUTHS

OWI82132 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 May 81

[Text] A big problem meriting special attention is that the number of suicides among educated youths sent to the countryside, especially among those from Shanghai, is increasing daily. It has not only produced a great impact on the mood of numerous educated rusticated young people and youths waiting for employment but it has also exposed their parents to severe mental torture.

The issue here is that with the downfall of the "gang of four," the domestic atmosphere of freedom and democracy has turned somewhat better. However, why has the number of educated youths from Shanghai committing suicide been on the rise? A preliminary investigation has indicated that the truth is certainly not what the central authorities say. They said that Shanghai youths could not endure hardships in backward rural areas because they came from such a flourishing industrial and cultural metropolis. Many of them stayed in the countryside for 4 to 5 years and were activists who joined either the party or the CYL in the rural areas. Why were progressive youths like them immersed in the contradiction between pursuing something and losing their hope? Didn't those who committed suicide yearn for something when they were living in a socialist society?

Although there are certain circumstances and subjective reasons that may lead a youth to commit suicide, there are also common laws and objective factors that may lead him to kill himself. Judging from the words and deeds of the tens of millions of educated youths, we would like to point out that many of them, especially those who are educated and rusticated, those who are waiting for employment in urban centers and those who have not even been put on the job waiting list, are quite at a loss on the meaning of life. For a long time, their livelihood has not been guaranteed, their material needs have been restricted and their mental attitude fettered. This is why they are down-hearted, have no urge to make progress and give themselves up as hopeless. They doubt the socialist system and have no faith in the party. They have bitter hatred for former central leading comrades, including the "gang of four," and are discontented with the present party and government leaders, for whom many have even ingrained hatred. We cannot attribute all this to Chairman Mao's erroneous policies and the "gang of four's" perversity.

We should understand that no effective measures have been taken (?to deliver educated youths from their predicament in the rural areas) since the downfall of

the "gang of four" and that they have been even more disappointed than before. During the period of the "gang of four," institutions of higher learning enrolled students and enterprises hired hands primarily from educated youths sent to the rural and mountainous areas. But, they have now been deprived of this gloomy hope.

The disturbances caused by educated youths from Shanghai (have been widespread). This was because of the discrimination against those who, prejudiced persons declared, used to enjoy high position and live in ease and comfort. According to these persons, educated youths should be rusticated to Xinjiang, Xizang, Nei Monggol, Qinghai and northeast provinces where conditions are the most difficult.

Saying that Shanghai was the "gang of four's" headquarters, some persons consider that the gang's poisonous influence is deeprooted among Shanghai youths. Using this excuse, the old question of rusticating educated youths has not been settled and the pace of sending Shanghai youths to the countryside has been accelerated.

If policy toward Shanghai youths will not quickly change and their problems be settled, we are sure that the appeals and demonstrations of scores or hundreds of the parents of educated youths and youths from Shanghai who have been rusticated to Xinjiang, Nei Monggol, Xizang and the northeast provinces will develop mighty political storms.

CSO: 4005/642

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS DENG XIAOPING ON YOUTH PROBLEM

OW270323 Ba Yi Radio (Clandestine) in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] At several recent meetings of the central organs and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee, Vice Chairman Deng repeatedly stressed, with the end of economic readjustment in sight, a most urgent task at hand is reorganizing military cadres.

But the truth is that the most urgent and serious problem is the problem of youth. Overlooking or even turning a blind eye to this problem will spell ruin for the entire younger generation and will create an even more serious social crisis. At present, there are over 26 million unemployed people in the nation plus another 34 million youths awaiting employment. Some 96 percent of the nation's senior middle school graduates are unable to continue their studies at universities and colleges, and an overwhelming majority of them cannot find immediate employment. This means that each year another 4-5 million youths join society's unemployed once they leave school. In addition, because profit has been stressed above all else during the present economic readjustment, many enterprises have either been shut down or have stopped production, merged with other enterprises or converted to other uses. This has further swollen the nation's unemployed with mostly unskilled workers and youths newly discharged by industrial plants.

It should be pointed out that the problem of youth unemployment is not limited to youths 17 years old or older. Now 15-20 percent of primary school graduates and 30-40 percent of junior middle school graduates are unable to continue their schooling in the junior and senior middle schools. These 12-13-year-old primary school graduates, unable to continue their schooling or find employment, have joined the idle.

Failing to grasp this task of vital importance to the nation's social stability and prosperity is a major crime against the state and the people. Any person with a good conscience cannot but feel disheartened and sympathetic with youth's miserable lot.

We ought to remember that during the nation-shaking "5 April" movement, how youths risked their lives in struggling against those big shots who swindled and coerced them, and how these youths rejoiced over the overthrow of the "gang of four."

When veteran leaders of the central organs led by Comrade Deng Xiaoping regained state power, youth placed great hopes in the new leadership, particularly when Comrade Deng Xiaoping and several other leaders of the central organs first took the reins and pledged to "bring order to chaos" and "realize the four modernizations before the end of the century," put forward many resounding slogans about democracy and freedom, and painted a picture of a brilliant and beautiful future for youth. At that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was looked on as youth's savior.

However, facts in recent years show that since these comrades came to power, they have only remembered that they and their families were victims of the Cultural Revolution, have done everything possible to abuse public power to retaliate against personal enemies and have persecuted dissidents, but have given little thought to the victimized younger generation. Instead of solving problems of youth as originally promised, they have further aggravated youth's plight. Youth's plight can be amply summed up as being deprivation of education, employment and hope. Therefore, it is not strange that the majority of the nation's youth should have a "confidence crisis," mistrust the party and government and be disappointed with certain leaders of the central organs.

CSO: 4005/642

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### ZHOU YANG ENCOURAGES WRITERS' WORK

OW251549 Beijing XINHUA in English 1535 GMT 25 May 81

[Text] Beijing, May 25 (XINHUA)--Zhou Yang, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, today encouraged writers to deal with important problems in real life.

Speaking at a ceremony for awarding the winners of three national literary contests, Zhou Yang said the party's policy in literature should enable the writers to have ease of mind and dare to speak out and to create.

"This is a sign of a country flourishing," he said.

He cautioned against shutting one's eyes to erroneous views or giving crude criticism. Criticism should be conducted by means of reasoning, he said, and people should be encouraged to improve their understanding through discussion.

He said the four fundamental principles with regard to the party leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist road and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought--were put forward in order to help people to a correct understanding of the meaning of ideological emancipation. There should be criteria for distinguishing between right and wrong. The development of art and science calls for broad freedom on one hand and correct leadership on the other. Some people fear that there would be another "anti-rightist" campaign like the one in 1957. This fear is not necessary, Zhou Yang stated. The people will not allow this to happen, and the party will not return to the old practice.

He advocated an atmosphere in which leaders, writers and critics discuss on an equal footing.

In commenting on a work of literature, one must see the entire content, know the author's other writings as the background, and understand the social environment. Quoting these words from Lu Xun, Zhou Yang said this was a historical materialist attitude that should be closely followed.

Zhou Yang urged the writers to study anew Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" published in 1942. The basic point is that writers and artists should integrate themselves with the masses and the new epoch, and this is what we are to persist in, Zhou Yang said.

Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art has nurtured generations of Chinese writers and artists, Zhou Yang said, though there were at times both dogmatic and pragmatic approaches. Changes have come over China in the past forty years since the publication of the Yanan talks. If we are unaware of this change of the times, then we will be divorcing ourselves from the masses, Zhou Yang said.

CSO: 4020/204

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

BEIJING UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENT--Beijing, 29 May (XINHUA)--Beijing University chemist and vice-president Zhang Longxiang, 65, has been appointed president of the university, China's leading institute of higher education, by the State Council, reports the GUANGMING DAILY today. The State Council's decision on the successor to 78-year-old Professor Zhou Peiyuan was announced by Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang last week at a meeting of the university's administrators. Professor Zhou Peiyuan resigned in March because of age and other administrative responsibilities. The new president is a 1937 Qinghua University graduate. He received a doctorate of philosophy in the early 1940's from Canada's Toronto University and later was a postdoctoral research fellow at the chemistry department of Yale University of America. Professor Zhang Longxiang has been with Beijing University for nearly 30 years. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0735 GMT 29 May 81 OW]

SHANGHAI-PRODUCED FILM--Beijing, June 9 (XINHUA)--A film written by Xin Xianling, a comedy set in China's countryside, has become June's best seller. It opened yesterday in more than 50 theatres in Beijing, according to the Beijing Municipal Film Distribution Service. "Happiness Knocks on the Door," produced by the Shanghai film studio, involves the intra-family conflicts created by a greedy wife among parents, siblings, husbands and wives. The story ends when the wife is taught to remedy her ways. A trial showing last month in Beijing's suburbs evoked praise from the 5,000 peasants who viewed the film on two evenings. This is Xin Xianling's first screenplay. He said he chose to write the story as a comedy "because peasants would like it with their strong sense of ethics and humour which contain remarkable elements for making a comedy." [Text] [OW090818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 9 Jun 81]

XINJIANG PUBLICATION WORK--A regional meeting on publishing and distributing books in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was held in Urumqi from 3 to 13 May. The meeting stressed the need to increase the publication of books in languages of the minority nationalities and improve distribution work in rural and pastoral areas in order to implement the party's nationality policy of raising political consciousness and scientific and cultural level of people of all nationalities. It was decided at the meeting that permanent or mobile book stores will be set up at key locations in rural and pastoral areas. [OW150431 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 14 May 81]

CSO: 4020/204

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EXODUS OF CHINESE BOATS FROM GUANGDONG TO HONG KONG

HK010237 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 1 Apr 81 pp 1, 11

[Article by Donald Cheung]

[Text] About 4,500 people from eastern Guangdong Province descended on Hong Kong yesterday on board 95 fishing junks following rumors of an impending major earthquake in their home towns--the largest exodus from China since 1961.

Another 20,000 from Haifeng and Lufeng, two counties 50 to 80 miles east of Hong Kong, are said to be heading for the colony in the next few days.

The sudden arrival sparked off a series of diplomatic contacts in London, Beijing, Guangzhou and Hong Kong.

And the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, who leaves for Beijing this morning, stressed last night there was "no question that they (the new arrivals) will be allowed to stay here."

The mass arrivals have stretched Hong Kong's security forces to the limit since the scrapping of the touch-base policy.

Marine police launches and helicopters from the Royal Air Force were called in to corner them soon after the government was alerted by the arrival of about 10 Chinese fishing boats early in the morning.

They lined the coast and patrolled the area throughout the day and by late afternoon 62 fishing junks with about 3,000 people, many of them carrying whole families with few personal belongings on board, were rounded up and told to moor in Joss House Bay.

Marine police were early this morning keeping the vessels in the area under surveillance to prevent any people slipping ashore.

The government also took an emergency move to declare Joss House Bay a closed area.

All marine vessels are advised not to enter the waterway between Tung Lung Island and the Clearwater Bay Peninsula as the Fat Tong channel is closed.

As the new "boat people" were being intercepted, London was promptly informed.

Shortly afterwards, British diplomats in Beijing headed by the ambassador, Sir Percy Cradock, made urgent representations to Chinese Foreign Ministry officials.

There was, however, no immediate word on the outcome of the consultations.

But Carrington's statement that these people would be issued with notices refusing them permission to land. [as published]

"They are being told that there is no evidence in Hong Kong or China that there will be a major earth tremor in their counties and that they should return to China.

"We will tell them either to leave Hong Kong waters reasonably quickly otherwise we should have to make arrangements to return them to China," he said.

A senior government official said he did not rule out the possibility of repatriating these people across the land border, but added that this will pose a problem--although "not an entirely new one."

"We have had in the past illegal immigrants arriving in boats. What we can do is to make arrangements for a local firm to return the boats subsequently to China."

Alternatively, he said the government might leave the masters and the crew on the boats so that they could sail the boats back later.

On the earthquake tremor, the director of the Royal Observatory, Mr J. E. Peacock, confirmed that the Guangdong Seismological Bureau had not issued any warnings.

He considered that there is no danger of any intense earthquake in the areas.

Nor has the Royal Observatory recently recorded any unusual seismic activity in the areas, he added.

Together with the earthquake rumor, it is believed that rumors in Guangdong of an amnesty because of Prince Charles's coming wedding has fanned the recent exodus.

Observers also felt that the quake scare was just an excuse for them to flee their communes to Hong Kong.

"Such a large number of vessels could not have been able to leave their counties without the approval of the commune officials," they explained.

About 3,000 people were crammed on the junks in Joss House Bay yesterday afternoon.

From the air it was an impressive sight with the boats milling about the center of the bay surrounded by marine police launches.

Police in rubber speedboats were darting from junk to junk giving orders to those on board.

But there were too many vessels to be able to control them properly.

The sheer numbers that arrived yesterday prevented the normal procedure--arrest and detention--being followed.

No one seemed to know for sure how the earthquake rumors started in Haifeng.

CSO: 4020/201

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'WEN WEI PO' ON TRILATERAL COMMISSION'S TRIP TO BEIJING

HK290917 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 29 May 81 p 2

[Editorial: "A Meeting of Historical Significance--the Beijing Journey of the Members of the Trilateral Commission"]

[Text] Members of the Trilateral Commission from Japan, North America and Western Europe met Chinese personages in political, economic and diplomatic circles from 21 to 23 May. Both sides have exchanged views on the present international situation and discussed the possibility of further developing and strengthening their relations of cooperation. This meeting has promoted the mutual understanding of both sides and laid a foundation for further cooperation between Europe, Japan and North America.

The meeting was proposed by the Trilateral Commission and held at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. It is a regulation that a conference of the Trilateral Commission is to be held once every 9 months in the United States, Japan or Europe in turn. This meeting of members of the Trilateral Commission with the Chinese personages concerned in Beijing is in fact a conference which is being held outside the realm of any of the three sides and includes participants from our country. It is also the first time that the Trilateral Commission has paid such great attention to China.

The aim of the Trilateral Commission is to promote political and economic cooperation among the industrialized countries of North America, Western Europe and Japan, paying particular attention to economic cooperation with the Third World, that is, "to unite the Third World in the south and deal with the Soviet Union in the north." In recent years, this commission has laid stress on developing its relations with China. During his visit to Beijing last year, Mr Takeshi Watanabe, the regional chairman from Japan, had already expressed the desire of the commission for economic cooperation with China.

As economic readjustment is now going on in China, some large-scale capital construction projects have ceased and some complete sets of equipment have also stopped being imported. This has aroused some doubts in the industrial and commercial circles in the United States, Japan and Europe, who consider that there is contraction and hesitancy in China's economic policies, or that there will be no more business with China in the future. Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping met all the members of the Trilateral Commission visiting China during their stay

in Beijing and talked with them about the political situation in China and China's views on the most important international problems at present. He also talked about China's economic situation. He said that China's relaxed economic policies, including the policies of cooperation with foreign funds and the law on joint ventures have remained unchanged. Later, in his meeting with Mr David Rockefeller, regional chairman of the Trilateral Commission from North America, Vice Premier Bo Yibo said that China was actively seeking appropriate forms of cooperation with foreign countries on joint ventures in medium, or small-sized projects and joint manufacturing, and in the meantime, accumulating a wealth of experience to pave the way to further cooperation on large projects. Thus, he has not only explained China's present economic policies but also pointed out the bright prospects of its economic cooperation with foreign countries.

The talks of the two Chinese leaders have deepened the guests from the Trilateral Commission's understanding of China's political situation and economic policies, and have given them more confidence in economic cooperation with China. It is expected that these talks will also help to clear up doubts abroad about China's present economic policies.

The Trilateral Commission is nongovernmental international organization. Its members include well-known personages and scholars on politics, economics and military affairs from North America, Western Europe and Japan, who are very influential both domestically and internationally.

Both sides have found many common views through this exploratory meeting. Mr David Rockefeller, regional chairman from North America, and Mr Georges Berthoin, regional chairman from Europe, have both expressed satisfaction with the success of this meeting. It has been a good beginning that both sides have expressed their desire for mutual cooperation, and better cooperation between both sides can be expected in the future. In the meantime, through exchanging views on the international situation, both sides have deepened their mutual understanding, which will undoubtedly, play a role in bringing about a stable situation in the world.

CSO: 4005/643

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL ON WANG XIZHE'S ARREST

HK080723 Hong Kong CHENG MINC in Chinese No 44, 1 Jun 81 pp 22-24

[Article by Liu Ying (2692 3853): "Wang Xizhe's Arrest"]

[Text] Arrested at Midnight

On the night of 10 April, the chief editor of APRIL-FIFTH FORUM a popular Beijing journal was at home in his quadrangle. Suddenly, there was a polite knock at the door.

"Who's that?" he asked.

The man outside the door gave a familiar name, though the voice was unfamiliar.

Unsuspectingly, he opened the door enthusiastically. But, from outside the door, two hands quickly reached in and grabbed hold of him.

"What's that?" he asked in great surprise.

"You're arrested."

"Who are you?"

"I'm from the Public Security Bureau."

"Why arrest me?"

"You'll be told later."

"Where are you going to shut me in?"

"You'll be told."

This is how the chief editor of APRIL-FIFTH FORUM was arrested.

Guangdong's "Document No 17"

Since the editors of APRIL-FIFTH FORUM Xu Wenli and Yang Jing have been arrested, responsible people of other popular journals in other provinces have been arrested

one after another. This is the direct result of the implementation of "Document No 9" in all localities.

"Document No 9" issued in March demanded that all departments concerned under the direct leadership of the provincial, municipal and autonomous prefectoral CCP committees (including the Public Security Bureau) should deal with "illegal journals" and "illegal organizations." Hence, all localities have taken action one after the other.

On 22 April, in the name of the people's government, Guangdong issued "Document No 17"--"A Resolution on the Banning of All Illegal Journals and Organizations." The document says:

"Under the banner of 'democracy,' 'freedom,' 'human rights' and 'reform,' they carry out antiparty and antisocialist activities. They slander the socialist system as a 'communist bureaucratic system' and declare that 'we must reform the Communist Party's existence.' They have illegally organized the 'All-China Association for Popular Journals' and the 'Central-South Regional Association for Popular Journals.' Members of the illegal organizations in Guangzhou, Beijing and Shanghai held several meetings in Guangzhou. At the same time, they published illegal journals such as: CORRESPONDENCE OF SCHOOLMATES, TALKS ON FREEDOM (that is, THE PEOPLE'S ROAD), RESPONSIBILITY, THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE, SPRAY, THE VOICE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE, and NORTH RIVER. It was decided that the above-mentioned illegal organizations and journals should be banned."

#### Confidential Documents Were Found in Wang Xizhe's House

Under the impetus of "Document No 17," members of the Guangdong Democratic Movement--Wang Xizhe, He Qiu and others--were arrested one after another.

Searches followed the arrests. In the second half of April, while Wang Xizhe was "kept in custody for investigation," his house was being searched. Some documents were found in his house, the one that drew most attention was the well-known "Draft Resolution on Several Historical Questions." There were only 6,000 copies of this document and they were distributed to senior cadres only. How could such a "rare" confidential document have fallen into the hands of Wang Xizhe?

Because of the document, the case of Wang Xizhe was getting more complicated. With the clues at hand, the Public Security Bureau immediately plunged into investigation. After they had analyzed the case, they took action against the people involved.

At present, the Public Security Bureau is investigating the source of the document. It will not be difficult for them to find out because not many people are qualified to possess a copy of the document. Only people who hold high positions are qualified to possess the document and it is very likely that many people will be involved.

On 30 January, Hu Yaobang said: "The illegal journals and organizations are backed by people inside the party. These people do not have a proper understanding of young people. They think that young people are capable and can take up state affairs now."

Would Wang Xizhe's case fit Hu Yaobang's words?

#### My First Impression of Wang Xizhe

I met Wang Xizhe a long time ago; it was 2 and 1/2 years ago when he first left prison. At that time, he and three other members of "Li Yi Zhe" were still on their "Midway Island," they were not yet home. I was the first overseas reporter to interview them.

In January 1979, less than 1 month after they were released from jail (they were released on 30 August 1978), the chief editor of CHENG MING and myself interviewed them on their "Midway Island"--a guesthouse of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee in Donghu, Guangzhou.

The first impression Wang Xizhe gave me was that he was a very capable man. Among the four (Li Zhengtian, Chen Yiyang, Wang Xizhe and Gu Hongzhi) Wang Xizhe was the tallest, his eyes were very bright, I would say they were piercingly bright.

At that time, the reason for their being "stranded on the Midway Island" was that they were trying to rescue people who were involved in the "Li Yi Zhe" case and were carrying out negotiations with the government; they were not detained by the government. They held that rehabilitation should be thorough and complete; if people involved were still kept in prison for some unknown reasons, then they would rather remain unrehabilitated. At that time, a man called Zeng Qinghe was kept in prison on Hainan Island in connection with an investigation into a murder case on Hainan Island. The "Li Yi Zhe" case had caused a sensation at home and abroad, in particular, it had a great influence on people overseas. At that time, the CCP very much wanted to rehabilitate them as soon as possible. However, people knew very little about the details of cases involving other people. Some responsible cadres in charge of settling wrong cases were dilatory, they even made excuses not to rehabilitate them. When "Li Yi Zhe" offered themselves in exchange for the rehabilitation of other people, the situation was thus reversed. Their method was proved effective. Xi Zhongxun received them three times and discussed with them the question of rehabilitation. Finally, Xi guaranteed that he had given the order to release the people imprisoned on Hainan Island. "Li Yi Zhe" then decided to participate in the rehabilitation rally.

#### A Self-Acknowledged "Reformist"

Wang Xizhe once told me, "We four came together from two opposite directions. Chen Yiyang and myself were from the rebel faction while Li Zhengtian and Guo Hongzhi were royalists."

However, after "Li Yi Zhe" were rehabilitated, the four of them separated and went different ways.

When they were still on the "Midway Island," their divergences were already shown. I can still recall an incident when I was in the same car with them going back to the "Midway Island" after the rehabilitation rally. In the car, Li Zhengtian said, "I think the attitude of the provincial CCP committee is

rather good." However, Wang Xizhe held: "The purpose of the meeting is to negotiate, only after people from the Grain Bureau jump up will the atmosphere of the meeting be enlivened."

Among the four, Wang Xizhe was the most active in the democracy movement. In June 1979, when Wang Xizhe talked to a reporter of a Guangzhou popular journal THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE, his determination to participate in the democracy movement was shown, he said: "On 17 March, Xi Zhongxun told me in person that the provincial CCP committee had agreed that I should work for Zhujiang films. However, some people from the provincial CCP committee refused to execute the order of the provincial CCP committee and Comrade Xi Zhongxun. It seemed to me that they treated the transfer of one's job as something fascinating. They gave me this impression: Do you want a transfer? If so, you must be good and obedient. No, I don't want it. Even Tao Yuanming, the feudal government official, would not succumb to authority and compromise his principles for some scanty material rewards, so why should I? No, I must air my opinions. Now that we have been rehabilitated, this is certainly due to the care of Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Xi Zhongxun; however, first of all, this is the result of the just public opinion of the people throughout the country and all over the world. I will never forget their kindness and grace. If for selfish purposes, we withdraw from the socialist democracy movement and hide ourselves and do not make any comments or air our opinions, then we should be despised by others. If for selfish purposes, I use my social influence to suppress the socialist democracy movement, and do not allow others to revolt, then we are no better than dogs."

As for the democracy movement, Wang Xizhe admitted that he was a "reformist," rather than a radical revolutionary. In a letter to his friend, he wrote: "Have I overappraised the reformists inside the party? Some young friends held that there is not much difference between Deng Xiaoping, Mao Zedong and the 'gang of four,' all of them are but official representatives of the Chinese bureaucracy. Therefore, if we pin our hopes on them, and rely on them to lead us for a thorough reform, then, we are having a reformist illusion.... It's likely that I'm influenced by reformism. My reformism is derived from this idea: the CCP is certainly not a petit bourgeois revolutionary party or peasant revolutionary party, it is a party guided by a thorough revolutionary ideology--Marxism.... Furthermore, apart from the CCP, what other organization in China has the political power to lead reform? As a matter of fact, all the reforms in 'socialist countries' have been motivated by reformists inside the communist party. This is a law. Some people might say: It is because there is only one party, if there were other parties they would have done a good job too. Yes, this is indeed a hypothesis. However, can any party that is not guided by Marxism carry out reforms which are in keeping with the interests of the majority of the people? If Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov and Wei Jingheng had parties too, could they lead reforms like the CCP? I don't think they could."

#### Is It Fantasy or Is It Inevitable Complication?

Wang Xizhe was very enthusiastic in joining in the democracy movement, however, he was deterred by his family. His wife begged him not to take part in it for she was worried that very few people would support him (Li Zhengtian did not comply with Wang Xizhe's viewpoint).

Nevertheless, Wang Xizhe was very resolute. He said, "I must join in the democracy movement, if you don't want to get involved, we can get divorced."

After "Document No 9" was issued, the situation grew more tense. But this did not prevent Wang Xizhe from participating in the democracy movement. He went to Shanghai to meet the responsible people of other popular journals. But, when he returned to Guangzhou he was arrested. It is said that when he was arrested, he said, "In the past, we were cowards; now, we must be brave."

After Wang Xizhe was arrested, his wife went to the house of Chen Yiyang; with tears she begged Chen for help. But, how could Chen Yiyang have helped him?

Meanwhile, many other enthusiastic members of the democracy movement were also arrested.

After "Document No 9" was issued, responsible people of popular journals everywhere hurried to Beijing in the hope that they might have an interview with the CCP leaders. They still had faith in the leaders of the central authorities, hoping that they had not forgotten the praises they gave on Democracy Wall, and had not forgotten that it was precisely because the people were crying for democracy that they supported old cadres like Deng Xiaoping to wield power at the risk of their lives. Therefore, they fantasized that they could have frank discussions with the central leaders, hoping that they could exchange opinions with the leaders like comrade to comrade or like people with civil servants so as to understand each other's viewpoints and attitudes.

However, fantasies are but fantasies. Reality is very different from illusions. The door of the prison was open for them in Beijing.

According to information, the Public Security Ministry authorized the Beijing Public Security Bureau to form a special organ to secretly arrest all activists of "underground" journals in Beijing. Therefore responsible people of these journals were arrested one after the other. They might be charged with "having illicit relations with foreign countries," and sentenced to imprisonment or to reeducation through labor.

In face of the searching for and arresting of responsible people of the popular journals, some people lamented: Since the establishment of Democracy Wall in Xidan in 1978 up to the imprisonment of today's popular journal activists, it's just like a dream. However, others are more optimistic, they say these are but inevitable complications amid the democratic trend, the future is bright and full of hope.

Who is right and who is wrong? Time alone can give us an answer.

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'WEN WEI PO': LEFTIST WIND CAUSE OF 'BITTER LOVE' CRITICISM

HK050502 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 2 Jun 81 p 13

[Special feature by Cheng Kuang-fei (2525 0342 7378): "The 'Storm' Over 'Bitter Love'"]

[Text] A grand ceremony was held in Beijing on 25 May to award 80 excellent literary works. When the names of these awarded works and their writers were announced, the name of Bai Hua stood out on the list. He received an award for his excellent poem "Spring Tide in Prospect." Everyone knows that his film script "Bitter Love" has been criticized by name in newspapers. This has aroused people's attention. Bai Hua's case is rare in China's 30-year literary and art history: a writer who has been criticized and commended within a period of 1 month. In other words, he was criticized because of his film script and commended because of his poem. Nothing like this ever happened before.

Things that never happened before are now constantly occurring in China. Those who usually look upon things from the leftist point of view are not use to such things. To them, it is impossible for a writer who wrote erroneous works to create excellent works again before they have been "thoroughly criticized," "thoroughly exposed" and "thoroughly reformed" as was the case in the past.

It was exactly because of these people who hold the above-quoted viewpoint that a newspaper took the lead in "thoroughly criticizing" "Bitter Love." Its main viewpoints were: Under the cover of love, the writer aired his hatred of the party and socialism and under the signboard of opposing feudalism and modern superstition, he vilified party leadership and state power based on the people's democratic dictatorship. Therefore, "necessary ideological struggle should be carried out." It also warned: "If we cover up mistakes, block criticisms and avoid struggle, this will be harmful to upholding the four basic principles, to developing socialist literature and art and to helping comrades who have committed mistakes." What a frightful label and strong-worded statement! In a split second, an outbreak of fierce fighting seemed inevitable and the atmosphere was extremely tense.

When people woke up and heard brief news reports on the "criticism," they began to talk about the matter. Some people were frightened, saying: Ah! Someone is wielding the big stick again. Some people said doubtfully: It is not easy to repeat the tragedy of mass criticism of the Cultural Revolution! Some other

people worried that the "leftist" ideas still had support among the masses and that mass criticism would occur again at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind. People concentrated their attention on RENMIN RIBAO to watch the trend. Instead of carrying criticism articles, the next day (2 April) it published Zhou Yang's speech delivered at a ceremony held not long ago awarding excellent short stories. It also gave a summary of the speech, pointing out: "We should particularly take good care of our writers and artists," "if they make mistakes, even political ones, we should exercise patience in helping them correct these mistakes. When handling contradictions among the people, divergence of views in particular, we should adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts and carrying out criticism aimed at helping those who are criticized in a spirit of curing the sickness to save the patient." Why did RENMIN RIBAO publish such a speech? Some people said that it was "published" with a deliberate aim, whereas some people thought that it was a "coincidence." Some other people believed that ruling out these two possibilities, some important points could be extracted from the summary: criticism should be carried out in the spirit of seeking truth from facts and aiming at patiently helping those who made mistakes. The practice of bullying and overwhelming others with power as well as wielding big sticks to attack people should be avoided.

While people were talking about this matter, students at Beijing University held discussions spontaneously. These discussions were sponsored by the economics department, but not by Chinese department. The attendees were students not only from the economics department, but also from other departments such as biology, physics, Western languages, philosophy, Chinese and so forth. Eighty people in all attended these discussions. This showed that the problem of Bai Hua had already gone beyond the scope of literary and art study and that it had become an important issue which demanded close attention. Before these discussions, the students had invited the authors of the criticism article to attend so as to promote democracy, encourage people to express their views freely and make a clear distinction between right and wrong. It was a pity that these authors failed to attend these discussions because of "one reason or another." As a result, sharp antitheses were not created and the overwhelming views were against the present method of handling things.

Some departments directly put forth divergent views on this matter. They maintained that it was right to carry out normal criticisms, but the posture of political criticism, the forms of commentator's article and criticism by name as well as the practice of publishing articles on the front page should not be used. Thereafter, although the spearhead of attack was weakened, the state of affairs had not fundamentally changed. This was not strange at all because this practice was another manifestation of longstanding "leftist" ideology under the new situation.

Such being the case, it was, naturally, not an isolated phenomenon. Some people in Beijing and Shanghai took similar actions. For instance, some of them wrote articles to the effect that criticism was also a way to take good care of writers and that we should not be too particular about the methods of criticism. Otherwise, it would mean putting the cart before the horse. In so doing, our efforts to seek truth would result in failure. A few days later, they added that we should have literary and art criticism and that an acute criticism did not mean

blowing cold wind nor launching political movements and so forth. In the meantime, they also talked about the evaluation of the situation of the literary and art fields after the smashing of the "gang of four." Most people believed that the main trend was good and that defects and mistakes were only a tributary stream. Some other people thought that these defects and mistakes were serious and they should not be tolerated any longer. Hence, they should be "thoroughly" exposed and fiercely "criticized" regardless of the ways and means. Only thus could we find "truth." These phrases and words known to all during the Cultural Revolution appeared again. It was under such circumstances that the criticism of "Bitter Love" was carried out.

To answer the question on the evaluation of the situation in the literary and art circles, on the day of the awarding of excellent literary works (25 May), RENMIN RIBAO published a signed article entitled "Thriving Literature and Writers' Duties." Citing numerous facts, the article reviewed the development of literature over the past 4 years, the achievements scored and existing problems which merited attention. It pointed out: "We scored great success in our literary creation. Our main tendencies are excellent and healthy and our general trends are flourishing and encouraging. However, some existing problems merit our attention." What were those problems which "merit our attention"? The article stressed the defects and harmfulness of the literature of "wounds" and "exposure," "self-expression" and the description of "human nature" and so forth. It also talked about the problem of correctly carrying out literary and art criticism. The following is an earnest passage quoted from the article: "Marxism lives on science and truth, not on intimidation. We should know that it is not easy to protect the creative zeal of writers, but it is a simple thing to dampen their enthusiasm. It takes years and years of hard work to bring up a writer, but only a blow or two to hurt him. Experience over the past years tells us that it would do nothing but harm if we try to solve problems of ideology and art by raising a hue and cry and unfolding political movements."

This was a summation of historical experience and the crucial reason why we failed to produce more excellent literary works over the past 30 years. The article also pointed out the direction of our future guiding principles and policies for literature and art.

This article was praised by the literary and art circles and most people in the society. Some people raised further questions: Why is the practice of punishing people because of their articles (speech is, of course, included) deeply rooted in China? This is a question which calls for deep thought. Such a wrongdoing has deep social and historical roots. In a country dominated by small-scale peasant economy, the narrow-mindedness, selfishness, fanaticism, factionalism, ignorance and so forth of small producers provide "leftist" ideology with a base and conditions. We should exert great efforts to completely eradicate these defects.

The fact that Bai Hua received an award has smashed the shackles of "leftist" ideology and those who had criticized were shown to be self-contradictory. They concluded that Bai Hua's creation "runs counter to the four basic principles" and demonstrated the "slide down the evil way of bourgeois liberalization." Why does his poem "Spring Tide in Prospect" sing the praises of the party leadership and

uphold the four basic principles? Before they made their conclusion, why did they say that Bai Hua's play "First Light of Morning" published immediately after the smashing of the "gang of four" praised the party leadership and conformed with the spirit of the four basic principles? Let us return to the subject of "Bitter Love." The first work Bai Hua wrote was a poem for a film "The Road Is Stretching Out Under His Feet..." (our newspaper serialized the poem in the column "Bi Hui"). This poem was good and healthy and highly praised. No defects were found in the criticism then. Some articles even commented:

"The poem 'The Road Is Stretching Out Under His Feet' depicts a painter's life-time which was full of frustrations and glory. It praises his indomitable spirit and castigates the perverse acts of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' during the 10 chaotic years without defaming the images of the motherland, party, leaders and socialist system..."

Some people asked: How could such a good and healthy plot, subject matter and theme change so greatly within a short period of a few months? The writer was the same and the environment, sunlight, air and water remained unchanged. In other words, the objective conditions had not changed. How could the writer's subjective world had "slid down the evil road of the bourgeois liberalization" and his literary works "run counter to," "bear a grudge against" and "slander" the four basic principles? Such a view was inconceivable, unbelievable and untenable.

The "storm" over "Bitter Love" enlightened people. Although the "left" wind is still blowing, it is not powerful. It can only be measured at gale force 3, wind which rattles metal poles. People who steeled themselves in the Cultural Revolution are now building a wall which can keep out the wind. The common practice of democratic discussions and seeking truth from facts is now being restored and progressing in Beijing. To express my congratulations, I specially wrote this article--"The 'Storm' Over 'Bitter Love'".

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